

a part of these family shrines just as they were of the tribal *me'ae* (14, 778 p. 59). Melville (23, p. 204) mentions "little temples," where offerings were seen "spread out upon the rude altar or hanging in half-decayed baskets . . . [and, also] images." Garcia (14, p. 59) describes family shrines as follows:

Besides these latter temples [the larger tribal ones, *me'ae*] which are fortunately not numerous, there are found on the roads, in the crossways and near some houses, a great many altars bearing food offerings and surrounded by long bundles of white stakes, about which fluttered bits of cloth of all colors. These altars, ordinarily surrounded by a little wall of dry stones which protects them, or elevated on a pile of stones, are approached only by the priests.

At these shrines were images of the same kind as those at the larger *me'ae*.

OTHER ADJUNCTS TO DWELLINGS

There remains to be mentioned only the pit for breadfruit paste (*ua ma*) 351—a well-like pit five or more feet deep and three or four in diameter, the walls of which as a rule were merely of earth, though some of the pits were lined with beach boulders. The use of these pits is described in connection with food preservation and cooking.

About the family precincts were the breadfruit and coconut trees belonging to different members of the family and small enclosures in which were planted sugar cane and paper mulberry for making cloth, and in some places enclosures for pigs, although the pigs as a rule ran free. [23] 241 ●

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In primitive times the native system of relationship in the Marquesas was very different from the European. *Hua's* (*huaka*) meant specifically blood and foster relatives, though extended in general application to all the members of the tribe, and even of related tribes. The same word meant also troupe or band (8). 601

A man's more or less permanent mate was his *vehine* (woman). If she had been betrothed and married to him with formal rites she was his *vehine tuia*. *Tuia* meant, literally, betrothed, and was applied to those formally affianced in childhood. A man also called all his wife's sisters and all his brothers' wives his *vehine*, and according to native convention he had the right of sexual relationship with them, provided he had the consent of the men with whom they were living as constant mates. In a more general sense every man of marriageable age applied the term *vehine* to all women of marriageable age. *Vehine*, in its broadest translation, meant simply woman. [58] 584 [60] 837

one of the chief articles of the diet of the people of this valley.

223

The tropic bird, hunted at night on high rock elevations, was caught by hand. The tail feathers, which were used for ornaments, were pulled out and the bird was allowed to go alive.

The roosting places of wild chickens were detected by their droppings. A man would go to such a place at night with a torch and catch the chickens by hand. Modern natives catch chickens by means of a snare or a noose—this is the usual native method of catching chickens and perhaps other birds today. A cord is attached to a post or tree and a large loop with a slip knot made. The loop is spread out on the ground, food being placed in the center. When the fowl has stepped into the loop, the unattached end of the cord is pulled, drawing in the loop so that the bird is caught by the leg.

CULTIVATION OF FOOD

Although in the Marquesas agriculture and horticulture were the means by which a fairly dense population obtained its main food supply, yet these arts never advanced beyond a simple state of development. Digging sticks (*ko*) made of hard wood, used in preparing the soil for planting and in digging the pits for the breadfruit paste, were the only agricultural implements, with the exception of the nets used in harvesting breadfruit.

24

For the native the proper time for planting was at full moon (*mahina pi*), or when the tide was high (*ia pi te tai*) and it was believed that anything planted at such times would be strong and its fruits plentiful and large.

Upon the birth of a child it was customary for the father to plant for it in the vicinity of the house or somewhere on the land allotted to the family, paper mulberry, breadfruit, coconut, and banana. These trees were thereafter regarded as the property of the person for whom they were planted.

423
846

Early visitors describe enclosures for the paper mulberry, sugar cane, and so on, about the precincts of Nuku Hiva houses. Porter (24, p. 107) describes the appearance of plantations in Taipi valley as follows: "Villages were scattered here and there, the breadfruit and coconut trees flourished luxuriantly and in abundance; plantations laid out in good order, enclosed with stone walls, were in a high state of cultivation, and everything bespoke industry, abundance, and happiness."

PLANTS CULTIVATED

Marchand (22, p. 139) speaks of observing orderly banana plantations and it has been mentioned that a father would plant bananas for his child.

● 241 Although bananas constituted a food of only secondary importance in the Marquesas, there were, according to Jardin (15, p. 49), twenty-six varieties that were distinguished by the natives.

Sugar cane was planted in the vicinity of the houses. According to Jardin (15, p. 54) the natives distinguished seven varieties. The cane, according to this writer, was reserved for feast days when it was cut and carried in great bundles to the place of celebration and distributed among the assistants preparing the feast.

Kape (*Colocasia esculenta*) was cultivated to a slight extent. Kava (*Piper methysticum*) was planted and cultivated in patches. Krusenstern (16, p. 164) speaks of seeing plantations of kava. In some of the legends recorded, the kava plantations of chiefs are described as being far back in the valley. Such plantations were named. In recent times, kava has been grown mostly in the uplands, because at one time the French administration prohibited its use.

Ute (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) the bark of which was used for making cloth, was grown in picket enclosures near dwellings. It was planted for the new-born child in order to furnish him or her with the cloth necessary for the various rites to be performed and also in preparation for such festivals as those of tattooing or marriage. The stems were allowed to grow up to ten or twelve feet in height, all the shoots along the length of the stem being carefully removed in order that the bark might be as whole as possible (15, p. 48). According to Dordillon (9) the *ute* trees were allowed to grow to a height of eighteen or twenty feet. After attaining the desired height, the stems were cut down and the bark was prepared for the clothing making. (See Tapa Making.)

The staple food for the natives was made from the fruit of the breadfruit tree. Individuals owned trees in the vicinity of their houses and chiefs owned plantations of them. The planting of breadfruit trees was performed with great care, but as to ceremonial connected with it, I have no information. Young shoots had to be obtained from the earth near the base of the mother tree, and were handled with great care so as not to be bruised. A hole was then dug in the ground with the digging stick, the earth taken from it being broken up and softened. The hole was then lined with leaves, the young shoot was put in and soft earth filled in and trodden down around it. The top of the shoot was broken off, and the remaining stock was then wrapped in bark or leaves held with strips of bamboo tied in place to protect it from pigs; or else a small fence was built around it, the space between the fence and the plant being filled with leaves. Ten days after planting a shoot, the farmer would come to see if it were sprouting (9). Père Pierre (4) speaks of feasts connected with planting.

The harvesting of breadfruit at the time of the main crops, of which there were four in each productive year—that is when there was rainfall—was a communal enterprise undertaken at different times in different parts of the group. When the chief saw that the breadfruit were ready for harvesting, he would summon his workers with a blast of his conch shell or would send an executive *tuhuna* to get adequate assistance. The first, or

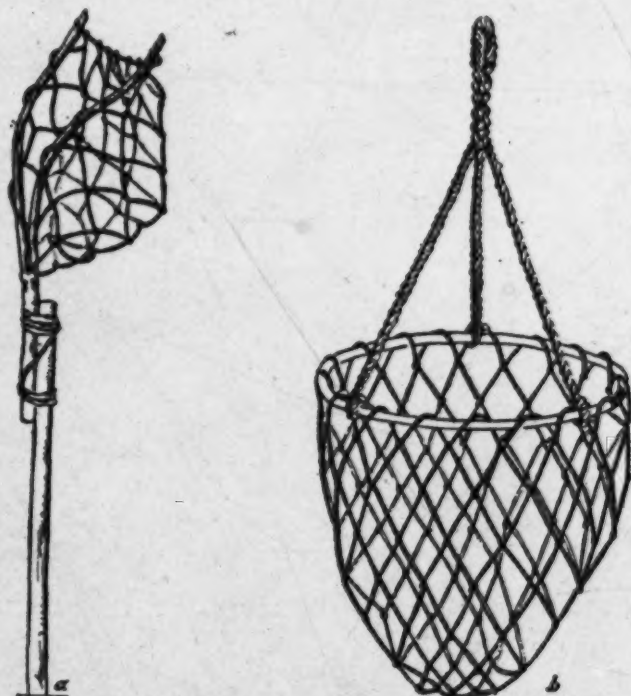


FIGURE 19.—Breadfruit nets: a, hand net for breadfruit (*pañko*); b, large net for breadfruit (*ko'oko*).

preliminary crop of breadfruit, which always preceded by only a short interval the more abundant main crop, belonged entirely to the chief, and served to fill his private breadfruit paste (*ma*) pits from which his household, guests, assistants, and workers were fed, and the great tribal reserve pits back in the valleys, which were filled in good times as a provision against famines. The second harvest was used to fill the private family pits.

- 241 The breadfruit trees were climbed by the men and the fruits were plucked with a net called *paŋiko* (*paŋiko*) (fig. 19, a), and deposited in larger nets hung in the branches, called *ko'oka* (fig. 19, b), or they were dropped on piles of leaves or weeds beneath the tree, so as not to be bruised. They were gathered up and counted in bunches of fours called [802] *pona* (literally, knot). Thus a *tahi pona* was one bunch of four, a *iva pona*, nine bunches, or thirty-six breadfruit. The whole system of counting breadfruit differed from the normal count. The fruits were carried [482] to the vicinity of the pits, slung on each end of shoulder poles (*amo*). It is said that one man could carry sixty breadfruit in this way. When a heavy load was carried the shoulder was protected by means of a wooden shoulder rest (*poka'a*). On Ua Huka, each family gathered and preserved 4000 (one *mano*) or 8000 (two *mano*) fruits at the chief harvest (*ehua*) and from a few hundred to one *mano* at the second (*mata'iki*) (Lawson MS.²²). The work of preparing the paste and storing it in the pits is described under Preparation of Food.

As was usual in all tribal labor, the harvesters were fed by the chief. Following a good harvest there was always celebrated the *ko'ina tapavau* (See Festivals). Under Rites is describes the ceremony called *Vai titi*, the object of which was to break a drought and thereby bring plenty of breadfruit to relieve famine, which was sometimes very severe.

- 241 Taro (*ta'o*) was planted either in small patches bordered with stones, 312 along the edges of streams, in larger patches of leveled terraces in valley bottoms, the terraces running like steps at right angles to the direction of the fall of the water, or on terraces built up above stream banks, running parallel with the stream bed. The accompanying plan (fig. 20) and the photographs (Plate 1, D) of an ancient terrace studied on Ua Pou show that the natives were well acquainted with the methods of irrigation and terraced agriculture. Concerning the work of erection of terraces, preparation of plantations, and planting of taro in ancient times I have no information. It is certain, in view of the customs connected with all other labor, that these had associated with them *tapu* and ritual of the same kind.

Figure 20 shows the plan of a terraced platform (*paŋua ta'o*) at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou, about two miles up the valley from the landing. As my only equipment in making the map was a fishing cord marked off in five-yard intervals, it may be understood that the map can not be regarded as accurate in measurements. But although the dimensions are faulty, the

²² The Lawson Manuscript, written in the Marquesas by Thomas C. Lawson in 1962 and the years immediately following and sent to Mr. W. D. Alexander of Hawaii, has come into the possession of the Bishop Museum when this paper was in the latter stages of preparation. It contains much valuable information regarding deities which will be published subsequently. It also contains much false information—free translations, interpretations, and so on, that are very wide of the mark.

general arrangement is accurate. To illustrate this type of agriculture in the Marquesas this map may serve as well as one more carefully made. The map is self-explanatory. The walls are simply but carefully built of stream boulders and unworn angular stones. Rising perpendicularly above the stream is a large block of red volcanic stone, (A) on the face of which, on the stream side, are the remains of carved designs of some kind. On top of this are the remains of a small house platform. The other house platforms shown were evidently the sites of houses that

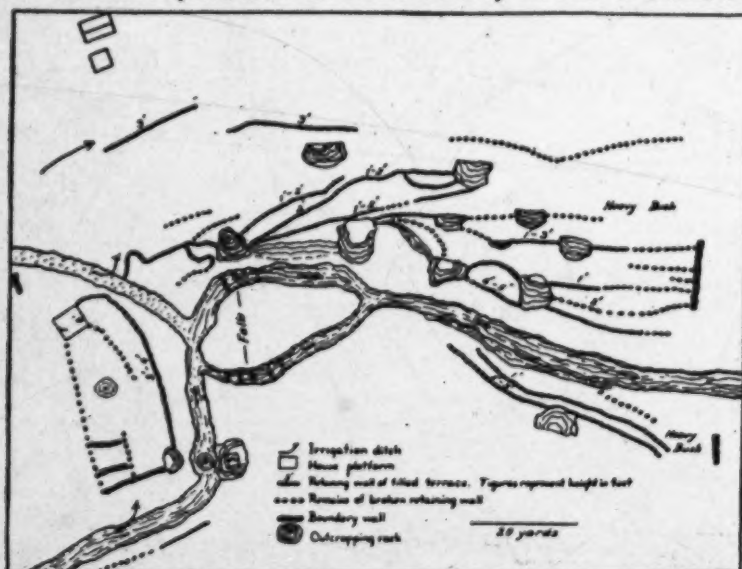


FIGURE 20.—Plan of a taro plantation.

overlooked the plantations. In the stream is a low rock of basalt, (B) the top of which has in it eighteen grooves made by sharpening adzes. There are many trees on the terraces, but only one, an old banyan, appears old enough to have been there before French occupation. The granddaughter of the former owner and worker of one of these plantations, told me that her grandfather was the last who had raised taro here.

All along the stream in this valley, both above and below the point at which this map was made, the remains of terrace walls are to be seen. Toward the sea where the land is more level there are several broad plantations, the low terraces of which run at right angles to the shore line. Figure 21 is a sketch made from a photograph of a stone-enclosed ditch for carrying water from the stream to a plantation.

241
312

In the valley of Haka Moui I examined the remains of a small plantation with six very regular terraces on the hillside above the stream. The supporting walls were from two and a half to three feet high. The group of terraces was about one hundred and fifty feet long and ended at each end with an enclosing wall. Plantations of this type were observed in Taiohae Valley on Nuku Hiva. There are similar ancient taro patches in Atu Ona, Hana Menu, Hana Ui, Hana Iapa, and Pua Ma'u and doubtless in most of the other valleys of Hiva Oa. The distribution of this type of agriculture in the group seems, therefore, to have been general. That such plantations were not more common is due in the first place to the lack of level land and to the hillsides being for the most part very steep and rocky and in the



FIGURE 21.—A stone-enclosed irrigation ditch.

second place to the fact that, owing to the climate and soil, breadfruit and not taro became the staple of the natives.

Today taro is planted only to a small extent, chiefly in marshy places and in small patches along the borders of streams; but it is planted occasionally in the larger plantations that remain intact from pre-European days.

PREPARATION OF FOOD AND ROTATION OF MENUS¹⁴

241
262

Although quantity rather than quality seems to have always characterized the native menu, yet there was a surprising variety of dishes in ancient times, and even today a prolific breadfruit (*mei*) season revives several of them along with community cooking. For now, as always, Marquesas menus follow the rotation of breadfruit seasons and depend for their compilation upon the comings and goings, the abundance or the dearth, of this

¹⁴ The section on Preparation of Food and Rotation of Menus was written by Willowdean C. Handy.

staple food. The importance of the breadfruit is indicated by an old custom recorded by Langsdorff (18, p. 135). He says:

Every child from the moment of its birth inherits from its parents at least one bread-fruit tree, and this tree is tabooed even to the father and mother. If the parents are so poor that they have not a tree to settle upon the child, one is planted for it immediately: by this means a provision is made for the maintenance of the child, since one or two bread-fruit trees are sufficient to support a man the whole year round.

The natives say that when breadfruit grew in groves, undisturbed by the modern planting of coconuts, and of banana, mango, and other fruit-bearing trees, which seem to have a deteriorating effect upon them, there were more crops each year than at present. (See discussion of breadfruit seasons under Time Reckoning: Ehua and Mataiki.) In the Marquesas each season is divided into *mei nui* (large breadfruit) and *mei momo* (small breadfruit), for there is always on each fruit-bearing stem of these trees one *mei* that matures before the others, the *tou motua* (eldest child). These large *mei*, *mei nui*, are picked first, the rest of the season being given up to picking the small *mei*, *mei momo*, or *ki'ih*, as fast as they mature.

One can trace native diet through the various seasons from the time of abundance, when all dishes with breadfruit as a foundation appeared, when *ma* (fermented breadfruit paste) was made with an eye to the inter-breadfruit season and to the possible famine time—which apparently came often, for the valleys were over-populated and irregularly watered; and one can follow the gradual change in diet as fresh breadfruit disappeared and *ma* became sourer and needed certain complements to make it palatable, and as, with the increasing scarcity of *ma*, other foundations became necessary; and, finally, one can see the shifts the natives were put to during famine times.

THE MAKING OF MA—STORED BREADFRUIT

Since the main business of harvest time is the making of *ma* (fermented breadfruit) that process should be described first. The horror of famine must have loomed large in the minds of Marquesans, for, in spite of their happy enjoyment of the present without a thought for the future in other respects, they developed in the making of *ma* a very elaborate system of conservation of the breadfruit in silos in the ground.

The breadfruit are picked mature, but not ripe, the ripening process being artificial. The stem is knocked off and a small sharpened guava stick (bamboo in Hiva Oa) is struck through at this point, so as to pierce the fruit from end to end. This hastens the ripening, which takes place usually in one day, sometimes in two. When the fruit is sufficiently tender,

241
262

251
252
[31]

The General, in the name of His Majesty, took possession of all the four islands, walked through the village, sowed maize in presence of the natives; and, having had such intercourse as was possible with them, he went on board. The Camp Master remained on shore with all the soldiers, who in a short time began to quarrel among themselves. Then the natives threw many stones and lances, wounding one soldier in the foot, without doing any other harm. They then fled to the mountains with their women and children, our people following them, until they were all in the woods. Being fired at, the natives reached the summits of three high hills, where they entrenched themselves. In the mornings and afternoons they all, with one accord, made a resounding noise, which echoed through the ravines, and was replied to by shouts. They wished to do us harm, hurling stones and lances, but their efforts were in vain. 648 [241] ●

The Camp Master placed guards in three positions to secure the village and the beach, where the women were resting and the sailors getting wood and water for the ships. What I have to say is, that some of these natives, being strong and courageous, used arrows, while there were not wanting others who seemed more cautious. They were very diligent to attack; but seeing how little harm they did, and how much hurt they received from the arquebuses, they tried to establish peace and friendship. For when the soldiers went to their work, they came out to them lovingly, offering them bunches of plantains and other fruits. It seemed that they felt the want of their houses, for they asked, by signs, when the Spaniards would go. Some came to the guards with food, which they gave to the soldiers. One native especially, of good presence, was taught to make the sign of the cross, and to say "Jesus Maria," and the rest. They were in conversation with their comrades, for each one had a comrade, whom they

778 Wanting to take other things, the natives interfered, saying they must not take anything, showing that they respected that house and the figures.

501 Outside the village they had some very long and well-made canoes of a single tree, with the form of a keel, bow, and stern, and with boards well fastened with ropes made from cocoa fibre. In each one there is room for thirty or forty natives as rowers; and they gave us to understand, when they were asked, that they went in these large canoes to other lands. They work with adzes, which they make of thick fish-bones and shells. They sharpen them with [321] 324 large pebbles, which they have for the purpose.

132 The temperature, health, vigour, and corpulence of these people tell what the climate must be under which they live. One suffers cold at night, but the sun does not cause much molestation by day. There were some showers, not heavy; dew was never felt, but very great dryness, so much so that wet things, when left out all night on the ground, were found quite dry in the morning. But we could not tell whether this was so all the year round.

221 They saw pigs, and fowls of Castille, and the fishery is certain wherever there is sea.

241 The trees which have been mentioned as being in the open space before the village yield a fruit which reaches to the size of a boy's head. Its colour, when it is ripe, is a clear green, and when unripe it is very green. The rind has crossed scales like a pineapple, its shape not quite round, being rather more narrow at the end than near the stem. From the stem grows a leaf-stalk reaching to the middle of the fruit, with a covering sheath. It has no core nor pips, nor anything uneatable except the skin, and that is thin. All the rest is a mass of pulp when ripe, not so much when green. They feed much upon it in all sorts of [262] ways, and it is so wholesome that they call it white food. It is a good fruit and of much substance. The leaves of

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

THE MARQUESAS.

29

the tree are large, and much serrated, like those of the papay.¹ 241 ●

They found many caves full of a kind of sour dough, which the Chief Pilot tasted. There is another fruit covered on the outside with prickles like a chestnut, but each as big as six of Castille, with nearly the same taste. Its shape is like a heart, flattened. They eat many, roast and boiled, and leave them on the trees to ripen. [251]

There are nuts the size of those of Castille, and appear to be almost the same in taste. The outside is very hard and without joint, and its kernel is not attached to the rind, so that it comes out easily and entire when opened. It is an oily fruit. They ate and took away many of them.

They saw calabashes of Castille sown on the beach, and some red flowers pleasant to look on, but without smell. As our people did not go inland, and all the natives retreated into the woods, as has been said, this is all that can be related. The soldiers said that all the trees appeared to bear fruit.

Our men were very well received by the natives, but it was not understood why they gave us a welcome, or what was their intention. For we did not understand them; and to this may be attributed the evil things that happened, which might have been avoided if there had been some one to make us understand each other. 648

¹ The earliest description of the bread fruit.

[pp. 30-148 not processed.]

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

THE MARQUESAS.

151

island may be 6 leagues round ; we passed by it on the S. side ; this is high, precipitous towards the sea, with rocky ravines, in which the natives dwell. There seemed to be many inhabitants in it, for we saw them on the rocks and beach ; so we went on making for the other three islands. The first, to which was given the name of San Pedro, will be 10 leagues from Magdalena, and runs with it northward, and to the point N.W. : it will have 3 leagues circuit. It is an island beautiful to look at, with much wood and fair fields : we did not know whether it was inhabited, for we did not come close to it. To the S.E. of it, about 5 leagues off, is another, which the General named Dominica ; it is very fair to look at, and seemed thickly inhabited : it may have about 15 leagues circumference ; and to the S. of this, and a matter of little more than a league off, is another island, which may be 8 leagues round, which received the name of Santa Christina ; and our fleet passed through the channel between this and the other island. For all that we saw of these islands is clear sailing ; and on the W. side of Sta. Christina a good port was found, in which the fleet anchored. These natives did not come before me like the others, but some very beautiful women were seen. I did not see them, but persons who had an opinion in the matter affirmed to me that there were as beautiful women as in Lima, but white, and not so tall ; and in Lima there are some very pretty. What was seen in the way of victuals in that port was pigs and hens, sweet canes, very good plantains, cocos, a fruit which grows on high trees ; each is as large as a large fir cone ; it is very good to eat ; much of it was eaten—green, roasted and boiled, and when ripened it is indeed so sweet and good a fruit to my way of thinking, that I know no other which has the advantage of it ; there is hardly anything in it to throw away, unless a little husk. There was another fruit, like chestnuts in savour, but much

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

152

THE MARQUESAS.

241 larger than six chestnuts together : a good deal of that was
eaten, roast and boiled ; and some nuts with a very hard
shell, which were very oily, and many of them were eaten ;
some suspect that they brought on looseness. We also saw
pumpkins of Castille sown in the ground. There is a
133 pretty waterfall close to the beach of very good water ; it
comes out of a rock, at the height of two men ; its volume
may be of the thickness of four or five fingers ; and then,
close to it, a stream of water, and the vessels supplied
648 themselves from it. The natives went off to the mountains
and rocks, in which they fortified themselves, and tried to
do mischief by rolling stones and hurling them ; but they
never wounded any one, for the Master of the Camp
stopped their advance by placing outposts. The natives
of this island, on seeing a negro of ours, made signs towards
[823] the S., to say that in that direction there were men like
[826] him, and that they went there to fight, and that the others
had arrows, and that these went in large canoes, which they
possess. As there was no interpreter, nor much curiosity
to learn more, the matter remained thus ; but in my opinion,
this is not possible for natives so isolated, unless there is a
chain (of islands), because their boats and customs in other
matters do not show that these people had come there from
any great distance.

This port is in $9\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ S. latitude. The Commander-in-
Chief ordered three crosses to be set up in it, and on
680 Saturday, 5th of August, to weigh anchor and set sail,
making for the W., to the S.W., or N.W., a matter of 400
leagues. Sunday, the 20th of August, we saw four low
islands, with sandy beaches, full of very many palms and
woods, and on the S.E. side, towards the N., a great sand-
bank. All four may have a circuit of 12 leagues. We did
not know whether they were inhabited, because we did not
go close to them. This year all seemed timid : I say this
with rage. They are in $10\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ latitude, and were named

[pp. 153 - end not processed]

648 terms, and requested to know the number of hogs I should require, stating that they had lost but few, and should be enabled to supply us abundantly. I told them I should expect from them four hundred, for which they would receive the customary presents in return. These they assured me should be delivered without delay.

CHAPTER XVI.

Madison's Island—Religious Ceremonies, Customs, &c.

177 HAVING now nothing to occupy me but the refitting my ship,
648 which went on with expedition, and the loading the New-Zealand-
241 lander with the oil from the Greenwich, Seringapatam, and the
Sir Andrew Hammond, I was enabled to make little excursions occasionally into different parts of the valley, and visit the natives at their houses, which was what I had not been enabled to do heretofore, as my various occupations had kept me much confined to our village. On these occasions I always met the most hospitable and friendly reception from the natives of both sexes. Cocoa-nuts, and whatever else they had, were offered me, and I rarely returned home without several little *tie-ties* as a token of their regard. I generally took with me seeds of different descriptions, with which I was provided, such as melons, pumpkins, peas, beans, oranges, limes, &c. together with peach stones, wheat and Indian corn, which were planted within the enclosures, in the most suitable places for them, the natives always assisting in pulling up the weeds and clearing the ground for this purpose. The nature of the different kinds of vegetables and fruit that each kind of grain would produce was explained, and they all promised to take the utmost care of them, and prevent the hogs from doing them any injury.

I endeavoured to impress them with an idea of the value of the seeds I was planting, and explained to them the different kinds of fruit they would produce, assuring them of their excellence; and as a farther inducement to attend to their cultivation, I promised them that, on my return, I would give them a whale's tooth for every ripe pumpkin and melon they would bring me. To the chiefs of the distant tribes, to whom I distributed the different kinds of seed, I made the same promise. I also gave them several English hogs of a superior breed, which they were very anxious to procure. I left in charge of Wilson some male and female goats; and as I had a number of young Gallipagos tortoises, I distributed several among the chiefs, and permitted a great many to escape into the bushes and among the grass.

- 243 perhaps the palmetto leaf, and the handles either of sandal wood, toa, ivory, or human bones, neatly carved into figures of their gods. These fans are held in high estimation, and they take much pains in preserving them clean, whitening them from time to time with chalk, or some other similar substance.

CHAPTER XVII.

Fruit—Departure from the Island.

- 177 Pine apples, of an inferior quality, for the want of proper cultivation, and the castor-oil bean, are to be found on the island.
- 241 The first is confined to a few tabooed spots in the valley of Tieuhoy, the latter grows in the most flourishing manner, and in the greatest abundance. These two plants were introduced, as
- 197 Wilson informed me, by an English missionary, who, about five or six years ago, remained a short time here with a view of converting the natives to Christianity. I could not learn that he had any success in his undertaking; if, however, he had while he remained, all traces of it were completely worn off when I arrived. It seems he first endeavoured to convert Gattanewa's wife, as being the most intelligent woman on the island. She appeared to have a perfect recollection of some conversations he had with her on religion, through the medium of Wilson, and among other things, related to me, that he had informed her that our God was the only God that every one should worship; that he made the island of Nooaheevah, and had sent down his Son to let us know that he was the true and only God. He ridiculed their gods as blocks, and stones, and rags, which, said Taiea-taiaa was not right, for we did not ridicule his God, who, if he wished us to be convinced that we should worship only him, would also send his Son to instruct us. We would not kill him, as did the tribe of which the missionary informed me; we would thank him for his good intentions, and give him, as we gave the missionary, shelter and food while he remained among us. Our gods supply us with bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, bananas and tarra in abundance; we are perfectly contented, and we feel satisfied there is no other such island to be found as Nooaheevah, nor a valley more happy than the valley of Tieuhoy. You who reside in the moon come to get the produce of our island; why would you visit us, if your own gods and your own island could supply all your wants? The gods of white men, we believe, are greater than our gods, because white men are themselves superior to us. The gods of white men were intended for them alone. The gods of Nooaheevah
- 829 were intended solely for us. I must here remark that these people are fully persuaded that we reside in the moon, and that we

MARQUESAN CULTURE

139

of affairs has had considerable effect on the life of the people. | 32
 In good seasons there was plenty of food; but one of these 731
 droughts, which might last as long as three years, used up all
 the stores of food and caused genuine starvation; sometimes it [266]
 drove the natives to hunger cannibalism. A severe drought of
 this sort could cut the population by a third.

Agriculture was practiced under difficulties because of the 241
 steep slopes, very little of the land being level enough for irri-
 gation by the crude native methods. The staple crops in other
 Polynesian countries, the taro and the yam, were of very little
 importance here. The Marquesans were dependent almost en- 245
 tirely upon the tree crops—breadfruit, cocoanuts, bananas—and
 on sugarcane. Another important crop was the paper mulberry,
 a domesticated tree with very long slender stems from which
 the natives made their clothing. These tree crops required no
 intensive cultivation. When a child was born, the father planted
 a breadfruit tree and a coconut tree for the new addition to
 the family. These trees would provide the child with food as [423]
 long as he lived. All trees and gardens were individually owned
 and inherited. A certain right of eminent domain was invested [787]
 in the chief, but he was hesitant to take a garden from even the
 lowliest native for fear of retaliation through magic.

In good years there were four breadfruit crops, the first of 245
 which was gathered communally. When the fruit was ready for 251
 gathering, the chief sent out messengers announcing the event; [476]
 everyone turned out to gather the crop, which was cut up, fer-
 mented, and stored in great communal pits hidden outside the
 village so that they would not be discovered in case of an enemy
 raid. The pits were enormous; I have seen some as much as
 twenty feet across and twenty feet deep, cut into rocky soil.
 The pit was lined with leaves, and the breadfruit paste was
 wrapped in packages which preserved it so well that it never
 became too old for consumption. The entire yield of the first
 crop went into these large pits, which were opened only in time
 of famine. The second crop was similarly preserved, but was
 stored in the household pits. There were no rules governing